Received September 29, 1768.

XXXVI. *Interpretation of the Inſcription on a* Punic *Coin, ſtruck in the Iſle of* Gozo, *never hitherto explained. In a Letter to* Charles Morton, *M. D. Sec. R. S. from the Rev.* John Swinton, *B. D. F. R. S. Cuſtos Archivorum of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *Member of the Academy* degli Apatiſti *at* Florence, *and of the* Etruſcan *Academy of* Cortona *in* Tuſcany.

Good Sir,

Read Nov. 24, 1768. IT has been obſerved by the learned Sig. Abate Ridolfino Venuti, that ſuch antient pieces as that before me (ſee TAB. XI. n. 5.), which has a place in my ſmall cabinet, adorned with a Punic inſcription on the reverſe (1), are not ſeldom found in the iſland of Malta. This ſeems in a good meaſure to have induced him to denominate them Malteſe (2) medals, and to conſider them as ſtruck in that iſland. On one ſide of my coin we diſco-

(1) *Saggi di Diſſertazioni Accademiche pubblicamente lette nella Nobil. Accademia Etruſca dell' antichiſſima Città di Cortona.* Tom. I. p. 35—42.

(2) *Diſſertaz. dell' Abat.* Ridolfin. Venut. in *Sag. di Diſſertaz. Accademich. &c.* ubi ſup.

ver the head of a woman veiled, and on the reverſe that of a ſheep, under which ſtands a word formed of three Punic characters. The piece itſelf is well enough preſerved, and the letters in particular have almoſt intirely eſcaped the injuries of time. Several ſimilar medals have been publiſhed by (3) Paruta, (4) Laſtanoſa, the (5) Marquis Scipio Maffei, (6) Sig. Abate Venuti, and (7) M. Pellerin; on which the three elements here mentioned, though, perhaps, not ſo accurately taken as thoſe tranſmitted you in the draught of my coin, are exhibited to our view. The legend or inſcription, however, on the reverſe has never, unleſs I am greatly deceived, been hitherto rightly explained.

The firſt of the characters preſerved by the medal I am conſidering is taken by Sig. Abate (8) Venuti for *Koph*, and I intirely agree with him in that notion. On my piece, however, it muſt be allowed ſomewhat different both from the correſpondent element given us by this celebrated antiquary and that which occurs on the ſimilar medals publiſhed by (9) M. Pellerin. It ſeems to reſemble, though not very ſtrongly, the letter *Kappa*, as it appears on certain antient Greek coins. I am nevertheleſs fully ſatisfied, from ſeveral conſiderations, that the cha-

(3) Paruta *Medagl. &c.*
(4) Laſtanoſa *Muſ. de las Medallas Deſconocid. &c.* En Hueſca, 1645.
(5) Maffe. *Veron. Illuſtrat.* Lib. III. c. vii. p. 259, &c.
(6) Ridolfin. Venut. ubi ſup.
(7) Peller. *Recueil de Medailles de Peuples & de Villes, &c.* Tom. III. p. 85, 86. A Paris, 1763.
(8) Ridolfin. Venut. ubi ſup.
(9) Peller. ubi ſup.

racter

racter in queſtion muſt be a figure of *Koph*. The legend on the ſimilar medals publiſhed by (10) Sig. Abate Venuti and M. Pellerin renders this indiſputably clear. That character therefore will, I doubt not, be looked upon by thoſe well verſed in this branch of literature as a new form of the element *Koph*.

The ſecond and third letters of our inſcription, as they appear on the coins communicated to the learned world by Sig. Abate Venuti and M. Pellerin, are apparently the ſame, though on mine they are moſt certainly diſtinct characters; the firſt of them ſtrongly reſembling a form of the Punic or Phœnician *Lamed*, and the other being indubitably one of *Nun*. Admit this, and the word may be read KAVLIN, or CAVLIN; though the *Jod*, after the Punic and Phœnician manner, is here ſuppreſſed. Such a ſuppreſſion amongſt the Phœnicians and Carthaginians was by no means uncommon, as I have (11) elſewhere inconteſtably proved. This being allowed, we ſhall, perhaps, not find it ſo difficult to point out the place where all theſe medals were ſtruck.

There is a ſmall iſland in the Mediterranean only five miles from Malta, denominated antiently ΓΑΥΛΟΣ, or GAVLOS, both by the Greeks and the Romans; as we learn (12) from Diodorus Siculus, (13) Mela, and (14) Pliny. This iſland, which is

(10) Ridolfin. Venut. & Peller. ubi ſup.
(11) *Philoſoph. Tranſact.* Vol. LIII. p. 275.
(12) Diod. Sic. Lib. V.
(13) Pompon. Mel. *De Sit. Crb.* Lib. II. c. vii.
(14) Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* Lib. III. c. viii. Lib. V. c. vii.

about

about thirty miles in circumference, was (15) occupied by the Phœnicians in very early times, and afterwards by the (16) Greeks. When the latter were poſſeſſed of it, the capital, named alſo GAVLOS, was one of thoſe cities called by the Greeks ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΙ, governed by it's own laws, and conſequently, as it ſhould ſeem, a kind of free independent ſtate. This may be fairly inferred from ſeveral antient coins of that city, to be met with in the cabinets of the great and the curious, with the Greek word ΓΑΥΛΙΤΩΝ upon them. The Carthaginians therefore (17), who probably ſucceeded the Greeks in the occupation of this iſland, may reaſonably be preſumed likewiſe to have coined money in that capital, with a Punic inſcription upon it. Nor can this well be denied, as medals of Coſyra, or Coſſura, denominated by the moderns Pantallaria, adorned with ſuch an inſcription (18), ſometimes occur; though that iſland, whatever figure it might have made when poſſeſſed by the Carthaginians, was conſiderably ſmaller than GAVLOS, known at preſent by the name of Gozo. The Phœnicians and Carthaginians ſeem to have aſſigned the latter, when maſters of it, the appellation of קל, KAVL, or CAVL; which may, perhaps, be deemed equivalent to the (19) Hebrew קל, KAL, LIGHT,

(15) Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Phil. Cluver. Sicil. Antiqu. Lib. II. p. 444. Lugd. Batavor. 1619.

(16) Sil. Italic. Lib. XIV. ver. 274. Phil. Cluver. ubi ſup. p. 445.

(17) Scyl. *Peripl.* Burchard. Niderſted. *Malt. Vet. & Nov.* p. 35. Helmeſtadii, 1660.

(18) *Saggi di Diſſertazion. Accademich.* &c. Tom. I. p. 31.

(19) Val. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* p. 1615. Hanoviæ, 1612.

SMALL,

SMALL, or the (20) Arabic قل, AKAL, the comparative of ق, KAL, SMALLER; thoſe nations conſidering Gozo as a ſmaller iſland, ſtate, or diſtrict, than Malta. As for the minute iſland of Hephæſtia, or Lopaduſa (21), though mentioned by ſeveral of the antients, it was looked upon as meriting little attention, or regard. The etymon laid down here ſeems more appoſite and natural than that obtruded upon the learned world by Bochart.

If the Phœnicians and Carthagininians then called Gozo, when occupied by them, CAVL, an inhabitant of that iſland muſt have been named by them CAVLI; which in the plural will give CAVLIM, or CAVLIN, according to the different ages in which the monuments exhibiting the word at firſt appeared. That IN was ſometimes a Punic plural termination, the BAALSAMEN of St. Auſtin (23) ſeems clearly enough to imply; the word SAMEN being of the Chaldee dual form, and evincing the plural as well as the dual number in Punic maſculine nouns to have ended ſometimes in IN. Several of the antient Malteſe, or Punic, numerals, publiſhed by Girolamo

(20) Jacob. Gol. Lexic. Arabico-Latin. p. 1950, 1951. Lugduni Batavorum, 1653.

(21) Plin. *Nat. Hiſt.* Lib. V. c. vi. Ptol. *Geograph.* Lib. IV. c. iii. Athen. *Deipnoſoph.* apud Bochart. *Chan* p. 554, 555. Father Froelich mentions a coin of this minute iſland, with the word ΛΟΠΑΔΟΥΣΣΑΙΩΝ upon it; from whence we may conclude, that the true antient name of it was ΛΟΠΑΔΟΥΣΣΑ, LOPADVSSA, the authority of medals being deemed inconteſtable by the learned. Eraſm. Froel. *Notit. Elementar. Numiſm. Antiquor. &c.* p. 97.

(22) Bochart. *Chan.* Lib. I. c. xxvi. p. 554. Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1681.

(23) Auguſt. *Locution.* Lib. VII. c. i.

(24) Me-

(24) Megiſerio and (25) Johannes Henricus Maius, not to mention the Punic (26) ABELONII of St. Auſtin, and other ſimilar inſtances, that might, with equal facility, be produced, manifeſtly prove the ſame thing. Nor ought it to appear ſtrange, that the Punic inſcription here ſhould be expreſſed in the nominative caſe; as a parallel inſtance occurs on the reverſe of a * (26) curious Punic coin of the iſland of Coſſura, now in the very valuable cabinet of the Reverend and learned Mr. Godwyn, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, which is perfectly well preſerved. As *Koph* therefore in (27) oriental names was not infrequently converted into *Gamma*, or G, both by the Latins and the Greeks, when ſuch names were adopted by thoſe nations; it can be no matter of ſurprize, that CAVL, by the aforeſaid converſion, and the addition of a Greek or Latin termination, ſhould become GAVLOS, the appellation aſſigned the iſle of Gozo by ſeveral antient writers. Hence we may conclude it more than probable, that

(24) Girolam. Megiſer. in *Deſcript. Melit.* c. i. f. 13. Lipſiæ, 1606.

(25) Johan. Henric. Maius in *Specim. Ling. Punic. in hodiern. Melitenſ. ſuperſt.* § 16. f. 482. apud Petr. Burman. in *Theſ. Antiq. &c.* T. XV.

(26) Auguſt. *de Hæreſib. &c.* c. lxxxvii. Boch. *Chan.* Lib. II. c. xvi. p. 851. Francofurti ad Mœn. 1681.

* (26) As ſome of the forms of the letters on this valuable coin differ from thoſe of the correſpondent elements in all the draughts of the ſimilar pieces that I have hitherto met with, it ſeems to me highly to merit the attention of the curious and the learned. See TAB. XI. n. 3.

(27) Bochart. ubi ſup. Lib. I. c. xlii. p. 737. c. xxvii. p. 569. & in *Phal.* Lib. I. c. iii. p. 20. Francof. ad Mœn. 1681.

the piece in queſtion was ſtruck in Gozo, though the preciſe time of that operation cannot now be ſo eaſily aſcertained.

From what has been ſaid, I flatter myſelf, the learned will admit the medal before me to have appeared firſt in the iſle of Gozo, and not in Malta, as ſome of the moſt celebrated antiquaries have ſuppoſed; eſpecially, ſince the people of the former iſland had a mint erected in their capital, from whence coins were emitted, with the word ΓΑΥΛΙΤΩΝ on the reverſe (28), when under the domination of the Greeks. One of thoſe coins has a place aſſigned it in my ſmall cabinet, and another in the valuable collection of the Reverend and learned Mr. Cracherode, Student of Chriſt-Church, Oxon. My piece in the main is well preſerved, though the three laſt letters of the legend on the reverſe have been effaced by the injuries of time; but Mr. Cracherode's, which is likewiſe in pretty good conſervation, has handed down to us that legend perfect and intire. A draught of my medal attends this paper (ſee TAB. XI. n. 2.), which for accuracy may be abſolutely depended upon. We may ſafely therefore, as I apprehend, attribute the Punic medal I am conſidering, as well as all others adorned with the ſame Punic characters, to the iſle, or city, of Gozo, to which it ſeems in reality to belong.

To what has been here advanced it may poſſibly be objected by ſome, that the iſland of Malta is much ſuperior, both in number of inhabitants and extent, to that of Gozo; and that moſt of the antient coins

(28) Peller. ubi ſup. p. 34, 35, 36.

ſimilar to that before me are brought from Malta, where they are not infrequently found. From whence they may be inclined to collect, as Sig. Abate Venuti (29) actually has done, that all ſuch Punic medals as that I am attempting to explain made their firſt appearance in the iſland of Malta. In anſwer to the firſt of theſe objections, I would beg leave to reply, that as the two iſlands here mentioned were ſo near one another, both of them free ſtates, coined their own money, were occupied by people of the ſame nation, and conſequently of the ſame religion; neither their extent nor the number of inhabitants they reſpectively contained can be of any great weight, with regard to the point in queſtion. But farther, the iſland of Gaulos, or Gozo, though leſſer than Malta, was ſo conſiderable, probably by reaſon of it's excellent ports, mentioned by (30) Diodorus Siculus, that Mela (31) and Pliny (32), in their ſhort liſt of the iſlands of the Sicilian ſea, towards the coaſt of Africa, place it even before Malta, the largeſt of them. And we learn from an antient inſcription, that it had the honour of being a municipium (33) in the Roman times. Nor will the ſecond objection be of any great force, when it is conſidered, that the two iſlands of Malta and Gozo were in (34) a

(29) Ridolfin. Venut. ubi ſup. p. 37.
(30) Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. Lib. V.
(31) Pompon. Mel. ubi ſup.
(32) Plin. ubi ſup. p. 164.
(33) Spon. *Miſc. Erudit. Antiq.* Chriſt. Cellar. *Notit. Orb. Antiq.* p. 655, 656. Cantabrigiæ, 1703.
(34) Joh. Quintin. in *Deſcript. Melit.* & Burch. Niderſted. ubi ſup. p. 35, 36.

manner

manner contiguous to one another; that the money of each was undoubtedly current, on account of their great vicinity, in both of them; and therefore that we may eaſily conceive a conſiderable number of pieces appertaining antiently to the latter to have been preſerved, for many ages, in the former of thoſe iſlands. And this is rendered ſtill more probable by one or two inſcriptions found in Malta (35), that originally belonged to the iſle of Gozo. Nor is the cardinal point taken for granted in this objection, on which it almoſt intirely turns, by any means inconteſtable. For ſeveral of theſe medals, perhaps moſt of them, are brought into Europe from Tunis, as I take mine actually to have been, to which place they might as eaſily have found their way from Gozo as from Malta. All which being maturely weighed, the figures of the letters themſelves, which ought to be the baſis of all our reaſoning relative to the word formed of thoſe letters, will, I would flatter myſelf, be allowed deciſive in favour of my preſent opinion.

Sig. Abate (36) Venuti has, indeed, obſerved, that the God Mithra ſometimes appears on ſuch Punic coins as that conſidered by me here, in the ſame manner as on ſome of the antient Greek (37) medals of the Malteſe; from whence he infers, that theſe Punic pieces are to be attributed to the iſland of

(35) Spon. *Miſc. Antiq.* p. 190, 192. Jan. Gruter. *Corp. Inſcript. ex Recenſ. & cum Annotat.* Joan. Geor. Grævii, p. 415. Amſtelædami, 1707. Chriſtoph. Cellar. *Notit. Orb. Antiq.* p. 655, 656. Cantabrigiæ, 1703.

(36) Ridolfin. Venut. ubi ſup. p. 37.

(37) *Mem. de l' Acad. des Bell. Lett.* Tom. IX. p. 160.

Malta. But this inference, as I apprehend, is neither valid nor juſt. For as the inhabitants of Gozo were of the ſame religion with thoſe of Malta, as has been already remarked; 'tis natural to ſuppoſe, that the former, as well as the latter, might have impreſſed the effigies of the God Mithra, and any other religious, or rather ſuperſtitious, ſymbol, common to them both, on their coins.

I ſhall only beg leave at this time to add, that the MSS. from which ſome of the earlier editions (38) of Silius Italicus were printed, exhibited CAVLVM, as the true antient name of the iſle of Gozo. Phil. (39) Cluverius, Chriſtoph. (40) Cellarius, and Nic. (41) Heinſius, I know, look upon this lection as a corruption, and ſcruple not to pronounce it a depravation of the text. But their bare aſſertion, intirely unſupported, as it is, and ſtrongly oppoſed by a Punic medal of undoubted antiquity, by no means convinces me of the truth of what they aſſert; eſpecially, as there are other lections of the antient name of Gozo, two of which have for their initial letter K, or C. This

(38) Sil. Ital. Lib. XIV. ver. 274. Edit. Colin. Pariſiis, 1531. Sil. Ital. ubi ſup. cum Argumentis Hermanni Buſchii. Lugduni, 1598. Id. ibid. Ed. Plantin. 1600. Id. ibid. Lugduni, 1603. Id. ibid. Ed. Criſpin. in Corp. Vet. Poet. Latin. 1601. Id. ibid. cum Comment. Dauſqueii Sanctomarii. Pariſiis, 1618.

(39) Phil. Cluver. *Sicil. Antiq.* Lib. II. p. 444. Lugd. Batavor. 1619.

(40) Chriſtoph. Cellar. in Sil. Ital. Lib. XIV. ver. 274. Lipſiæ, 1695.

(41) Nic. Heinſ. in Sil. Ital. ubi ſup. Ed. Drakenb. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1717.

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we learn from (42) ſome of the manuſcripts, and the printed copies, of Strabo. The authority of theſe manuſcripts, in conjunction with that of thoſe of Silius Italicus abovementioned, ſeems to bring a freſh acceſſion of ſtrength to the preceding interpretation of the Punic word on my coin, and at the ſame time to receive itſelf no inconſiderable ſupport from that interpretation.

You will excuſe the trouble given on this occaſion, as ſome light may poſſibly be thrown on ſeveral very curious and valuable Punic medals, hitherto unexplained, by the paper now ſent you; and believe me to be, with all poſſible conſideration and regard,

Good Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Chriſt-Church, Oxon.
Sept. 2, 1768.

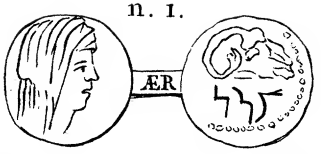
John Swinton.

(42) If. Caſaub. *Comment. et Caſtigat. ad Lib. Strabon. Geograph.* I. VI. VII. Gio. Pietro Franceſco Agius de Soldanis, *Dell' Origine Della Lingua Punica preſentamente uſata da Malteſi, Diſſertaz.* I. p. 50. In Roma, 1750.

P. 235, l. 13, 14, *for* n. 5. *inſert* n. 1. P. 249, l. 9. *for* n. 2, 3. *inſert* n. 1, 2.
P. 253, l. 13, *for* n. 1. *inſert* n. 3.

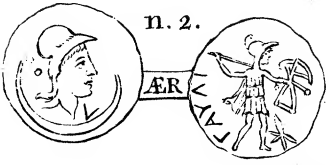
XXXVII. *Elu-*

n. 1.



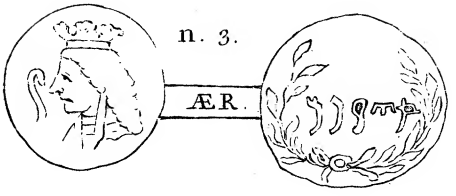
Penes Joannem Swinton, S.T.B.
Oxonienſ. R.S.S.

n. 2.



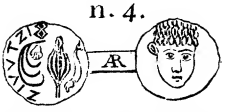
Apud Joannem Swinton, S.T.B.
Oxonienſ. R.S.S.

n. 3.



Apud Car. Godwyn, S.T.B.
Coll. Ball. Oxon. Soc.

n. 4.



Apud Joannem Swinton, S.T.B.
Oxonienſ. R.S.S.